

Jakub KUBIENIEC (Cracow)

*Simon Dormis: A Milanese Antiphon  
in Central Europe?*

Interest has been growing lately among musicologists specialising in the medieval period in local traditions of liturgical music. In this context, too, research has been undertaken on manuscripts from the peripheral areas of Latinate Europe (if I may use the term), of which the most spectacular recent example is the series *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae*<sup>1</sup>. A perusal of the volumes of this series leads to the observation that there was a certain number of works prevalent in Central European traditions which are not encountered in the liturgies of the western and southern parts of the continent.

The antiphon *Simon dormis* appears to have been one of these works. It was intended as a part of the completorium for Palm Sunday (*ad Nunc dimittis*), and recalls the scene from the Gospels in which Jesus reproves his disciples for their unwillingness to attend him in his fears prior to the passion. As far as we now know, the chant has been found to occur only in Central European

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Corpus Antiphonalium Officii – Ecclesiarum Centralis Europae* (hence CAO-ECE): CAO-ECE: A Preliminary Report. Ed. László Dobszay and Gábor Prószyk (Budapest 1988), CAO-ECE I/A: Salzburg (Temporale). Ed. László Dobszay (Budapest 1990), CAO-ECE II/A: Bamberg (Temporale). Ed. Zsuzsa Czagány (Budapest 1994), CAO-ECE III/A: Praha (Temporale). Ed. Zsuzsa Czagány (Budapest 1996).

sources – in a rather narrow sense of the term. They have been encountered only in antiphonaries in Prague, Esztergom<sup>2</sup>, Székesfehérvár<sup>3</sup>, Passau<sup>4</sup>, Kraków<sup>5</sup>, and Gniezno<sup>6</sup>.



Example 1. *Simon dormis* (A1), Kraków, ms. 47, 53.

These antiphons do not occur – at any rate they are far from widespread – in French, Italian, and even German sources, although the last-mentioned exerted an influence on Prague and Cracovian sources.<sup>7</sup> Instead, another liturgical chant, with the same incipit (*Simon dormis*), but a shorter text, does occur rather frequently in the “Gregorian” antiphonaries, from the very earliest exemplars<sup>8</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. CAO-ECE III/A Praha, no. 24861 and commentary on page 44.

<sup>3</sup> See: Antiphonarium, Graz, Universitätsbibl. 211; facsimile: *Codex Albensis, ein Antiphonar aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*. Ed. Zoltán Falvy and L. Mezey, *Monumenta Hungariae musicae* 1 (Budapest 1963).

<sup>4</sup> Antiphonale Pataviense (Wien 1519), facsimile. Ed. Karlheinz Schlager, *Das Erbe deutscher Musik* 88 (Kassel 1985).

<sup>5</sup> Antiphoners from the Kraków Cathedral (Kraków, Biblioteka Kapituły Katedralnej, ms. 47 from 1423, and ms. 53, ca 1470) and Corpus Christi church (Archiwum kościoła Bożego Ciała, ms. ABC 3 from 1430–50).

<sup>6</sup> Antiphoner from 1505–6 (Gniezno, Biblioteka Archikatedralna, ms. 97).

<sup>7</sup> It would be pointless to try to enumerate the sources which do not contain this antiphon. My search entailed the available lists in the CAO (see the next footnote), the CANTUS data base (*A Database for Latin Ecclesiastical Chant. Indices of chants in selected manuscripts and early printed sources of the liturgical Office*, <http://publish.uwo.ca/~cantus/>), and several other sources which I am familiar with (such as the Dominican, Franciscan, and Carmelite manuscripts).

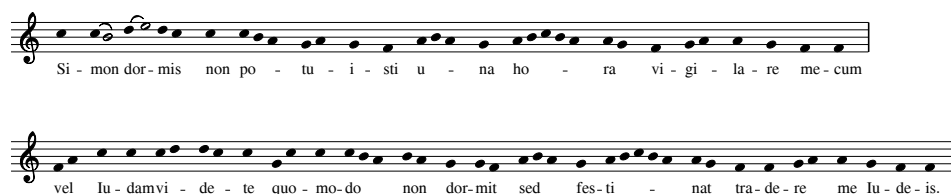
<sup>8</sup> See René-Jean HESBERT *Corpus antiphonarium officii. Rerum ecclesiasticarum documenta*. Series maior, Fontes 7–12, Rome 1963–79; the sources CGBMV, nr 4959. The chant is encountered also in early sources from Saint Denis (Paris, BN F-Pn lat. 17296), Saint-Maur-les-Fosses (Paris, BN F-Pn lat. 12584), Silos (London, British Library Additional 30850) and Benevento (Benevento, Biblioteca Capitolare v. 21, vi. 34).

The short version is in the G mode (tone 8), and usually appears as the antiphon *ad benedictus* for Holy Wednesday. The text is an almost literal quotation from the Gospel according to St. Mark (cf. Mk 14, 37b: *Et ait Petro: Simon, dormis? non potuisti una hora vigilare?*):



Example 2. *Simon dormis* (A2) Lucca, 188 r (feria 4 post dom. Ramis Palmarum)<sup>9</sup>

We could conclude with this enumeration that the long version is an example of a local Central European creation, if it were not for the fact that it is also to be found in a 12<sup>th</sup>-century antiphonary according to the liturgical rite of Milan, where it is entered as a *antiphona dubla* – a genre specific for the Ambrosian liturgy for Good Friday<sup>10</sup>:



Example 3. *Simon dormis* (A-MIL) MIL, 243:

As we can see there is a surprising degree of concordance for both text and melody. This gives rise to a number of questions regarding the provenance of this work. Could it have been one of the many instances of the “Gregorianisation” of the Ambrosian liturgy<sup>11</sup>?

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *Antiphonarium monasticum*, XII (Lucca, Biblioteca Capitolare, 901), facsimile: *Paléographie Musicale* I/9 (Solesmes 1906) – *Antiphonaire monastique, XIIe siècle*: Codex 601 de la Bibliothèque Capitulare de Lucques.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. *Antiphonarium Ambrosianum* (XII w., hence MIL) London, cod. add. 34209, fol. 243 (Ed. *Paléographie Musicale* I/5, 6) – hence MIL; *Antiphonarium ambrosianum*, sec. XV, Kraków, Biblioteka Jagiellońska, ms. 7903 (olim 20/1951), fol. 176v – hence MIL-BJ.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. e. g. David HILEY *Western Plainchant: a Handbook*. Oxford 1993, 540–49.

But this is by no means the end of the mystery. The long version has an additional agraphon, “vel Iudam non vides [videte in the Milan version] quomodo non dormit sed festinat tradere me Iudaeis.” Non-biblical texts of this sort, excluding sequences or rhymed offices, occur very rarely in the Franco-Roman liturgy, but they are a peculiarity of other Western rites.<sup>12</sup> The naming of Judas in a Gregorian liturgical text is quite unusual, too. The Roman and Franco-Roman manuscripts distinctly avoid all mention of this apostle, in contrast to the Greek liturgy, where the motif of Jesus’ betrayal to the Pharisees appears very frequently in Holy Week. No wonder, then, that the Latin works in which Judas is mentioned come mostly from non-Gregorian rites and tend to have their counterparts in the Byzantine liturgy, or at least the influence of the Byzantine style is visible in them.<sup>13</sup> Our suspicion of an Eastern provenance for this agraphon turns out to be confirmed. The passage *vel Iudam non vides* occurs elsewhere apart from this antiphon, in the generally known responsory *Una hora non potuistis*.<sup>14</sup> As has been observed by Anton Baumstark, the text of this responsory is based on the well-known Byzantine troparion Κύριε ἐπὶ τὸ πάθος

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<sup>12</sup> Their occurrence in the Roman (Franco-Roman) office shocked Agobard of Lyons (see. his *Liber de Correctione Antiphonarum*). Non-biblical texts occur in about 47% of the mass repertoire in the Milanese (and Benventan) liturgical chant, but only in around half a dozen of the Gregorian manuscripts (Cf. Michel HUGLO ‘The Old Beneventan Chant’. *Studia Musicologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 27, 1985).

<sup>13</sup> A good idea of the eastern predilection for the motif of Judas’ betrayal may be obtained from a perusal of Helmut LEEB’S compilation of the biblical indices to the Holy Week chants in the Jerusalem liturgy (‘Die Gesänge in Gemeindegottesdienst von Jerusalem (vom 5. bis 8. Jahrhundert’) *Wiener Beiträge zur Theologie* Bd. XXVIII, Wien 1970, pp. 284–289). For each of the individual Gospel episodes Leeb gives a list of the poetic texts based on them to be found in the Georgian lectionaries, many of which later made their way into the Byzantine rite. In his list the Last Supper and the Crucifixion occupy 11 lines, while Judas’ betrayal has 52 lines. Judas’ name occurs 14 times in these chants.

<sup>14</sup> The responsory appears with a number of different verses. Both come from the Bible, rather than from a Greek paraphrase. Cf. Mt 26, 40b-41a, 45: *et dicit Petro: Sic non potuistis una hora vigilare mecum? Vigilate, et orate ut non intretis in tentationem. (...) Tunc venit ad discipulos suos, et dicit illis: Dormite iam, et requiescite: ecce appropinquavit hora, et Filius hominis tradetur in manus peccatorum.*

from the words Κ'όυ μ'ίαν ὥραν,<sup>15</sup> which in turn is derived from the 6<sup>th</sup>-8<sup>th</sup>-century liturgy of the Patriarchate of Jerusalem.<sup>16</sup> In the Georgian Jerusalem version *Kyrie epi to pathos* appears as the fourth of eleven *dasdebeles* (antiphons) which were performed during the vigil of Maundy Thursday.<sup>17</sup> This text is also to be found in a verse of the Milanese responsorium in choro, *Omnes vos scandalum patiemini*. Let us compare all the texts (see table on p. 10).

The text of the repetenda of the Gregorian responsory is almost identical with the “agraphic” part of *Simon dormis*. How could this text have reached our antiphon, assuming that the version from the responsoria, which is nearer the original, is the older version? We could assume that the passage *vel Iudam* is a sort of trope added to the original (?) short version of *Simon dormis*, known from the oldest copies of the Gregorian antiphonary. The addition might have been taken from the Holy Week responsory, which refers to the same scene from the Gospels as the antiphon,<sup>18</sup> which in turn might be one of the Gallican vestiges in the Franco-Roman chant. The compilation must have been done in a “Gregorian” environment – in Milan the text of *Sic una hora* was known, but not of the shorter antiphon – prior to the 12<sup>th</sup> century (the earliest copy is in the Codex Albensis), and it must have caught the attention of the “liturgy masters” in that city fairly quickly (MIL is also 12<sup>th</sup>-century).

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<sup>15</sup> The Byzantine liturgy uses this troparion on Good Friday in the morning service antiphons; cf. Τριωδιον κατανυκτικον Roma, 1879, 668).

<sup>16</sup> We find it in the famous Jerusalem Georgian lectionaries. In hagiopolite liturgy this troparion was sung on Maundy Thursday, as the antiphon (*dasdebele*) for Psalm 21. Cf. H. LEEB op. cit., p. 248 (with a German translation of the Georgian version).

<sup>17</sup> The troparions occur with the following rubric: “*Alii mediae noctis stichi novi XI. In eadem feria magna quinta mediae noctis alii more hierosolymitano.*” See H. LEEB op. cit., p. 239.

<sup>18</sup> This kind of procedure is to be encountered, for example, in the Advent antiphon *Intuemini*, according to the Antiphonary of the Canons Regular of Cracow (ABC1, 84v). The commonly occurring text of this antiphon, *Intuemini quantus sit gloriosus iste qui ingreditur ad salvandas gentes*, is augmented in the Cracovian source by the following passage, *Ipse est rex iusticie cuius generacio non habet finem*, which occurs in the responsory after the above-cited passage. The melodic arrangement of ABC is different from the commonly occurring melody, but its liturgical function is unchanged (*feria sexta in hebd. 4 adventus ad vespers* – cf. Mss. 47 & 53 in Cracow Cathedral).

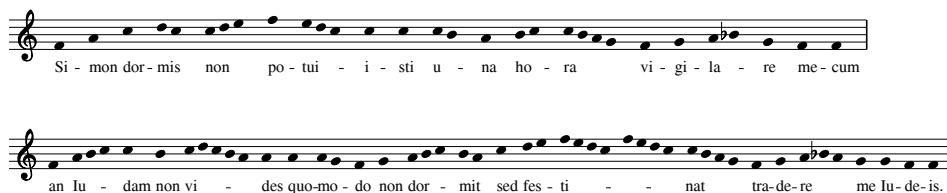
Troparion:	Responsorium (GREG):	Antyфона 1 (GREG):	Antyфона 2 (GREG):	Responsorium in choro (MIL)	Antiphona dupla (MIL)
Κόριε επί τό πάθος τό εκούσιον παραινόμενος, εβόας τοῖς Μυθηταῖς σου, <b>κάν μίαν ὥραν οὐκ ισχύσατε, αγρυπνήσαι μετ' ἐμοῦ, πὼς ἐπηγγίλατε ἀποθνήσκειν δὲ ἐμέ;</b>	<i>R.</i> Una hora non potuistis vigilare mecum qui exhortabamini mori pro me	<i>Simon dormis</i> non potuisti una hora vigilare mecum	<i>Simon dormis</i> non potuisti una hora vigilare mecum	<i>R.</i> Omnes vos scandalum patiemini in me...  <i>V.</i> Sic una hora non potuistis vigilare qui exhortabamini mori pro me	<i>Simon dormis</i> non potuisti una hora vigilare mecum  <i>V.</i> Vel Iudam videte quomodo non dormit sed festinat tradere me Iudeis
<b>κάν τόν Ιούδαν θεάσασθε, πὼς οὐ καθεύδει, ἀλλὰ σπουδάζει προδοῦναί με τοῖς παρ' ἐμοῖς;</b>	<i>*Vel</i> Iudam non videtis, quomodo non dormit sed festinat tradere me Iudeis  <i>V1.</i> Quid dormitis? surgite, et orate  ne intretis in entationem. <i>V2.</i> Dormite iam et requiescite...	<i>Vel</i> Iudam non vides*, Quomodo non dormit sed festinat tradere me Iudeis			
εγείρεσθε, προσεύξασθε, μή τις με αγνήσκηται, βλέπων με ἐν τῷ σταυρῷ. Μακρόθυμε δόξα σοι.					

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\* Antiphonale Pataviense has “an Iudam...”.

However such an explanation is not satisfactory. Both the musical and liturgical context seems to indicate a Milanese provenience for this antiphon. The two versions of *Simon dormis* differ as regards tune and choice of mode. If we examine them more closely, we observe that Antiphon 2, the shorter version, uses the standard formula for the eighth mode<sup>19</sup>, whereas the tune of the long version (Antiphon 1), is not typical of the fifth mode and has a specific, symmetrical AA' form. In turn, the repetition of whole choral segments is not a typical device of Carolingian chant, but instead of its Italian cousins. This is precisely the structure of the overwhelming majority of the Milanese antiphonae duplae (or dublae), in which the verse usually repeats the tune of the first part of the chant.<sup>20</sup>

The liturgical aspect indicates that the work appeared in Central Europe relatively late. The chant tended to accompany the canticle of Simeon, which only rarely had its own antiphons.<sup>21</sup> Moreover, the Central European tradition for this antiphon was rather unstable as regards the tune, which was characteristic of “new” works (cf. the Passau version, which clearly has a disturbance in the symmetry):



Example 4. *Antiphonale Pataviense*, 41r.

<sup>19</sup> Tetrardus *f* type, according to Walter FRERE *Introduction to the Sarum Antiphonal*. London 1901, pp. 24, 74.

<sup>20</sup> cf. Terence BAILEY ‘Ambrosianischer Gesang’. *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*. Kassel, I.534 Bailey observes that *antiphonae duplae* were a relatively late development.

<sup>21</sup> This antiphon appeared in the liturgy of Cracow Cathedral probably in the early 14th century, which was when a new Cracovian antiphonary was compiled. The entries in its temporal section have survived only in 15<sup>th</sup>-century transcripts. This chant does not occur in the mid 13<sup>th</sup>-century Cracovian Ordinale (Ms. 51).

In all likelihood, then, the antiphon was created in Milan and only later adapted in the Franco-Roman area. If this is true, what is the relationship between the Gregorian reponsory and both the Ambrosian antiphon and the responsory verse? All make a direct identification of the Greek παρανόμοι “unfaithful”) with the Jews (“tradere me Iudaeis”). However, in other parts the Milanese and Gregorian versions of the text are not always identical. For example, the Ambrosian version translates the Greek κἀν τὸν Ἰούδαν θεάσασθε mechanically as “vel Iudam videte”, while the Gregorian rendering puts in a negation and changes the verb-form (“vel Iudam non videris/vides”). Perhaps, then, the two versions were independent of each other but came from the same source, e. g. presumably a Gallican source. Both Gregorian and Ambrosian responsory are certainly older than the double antiphon, in which there is an extant plural verb (“videte”), although the words address Simon Peter. This may suggest that originally the chant had no verse and only subsequently became a “double antiphon,” once the mention of Judas had been added.<sup>22</sup>

Thus the question of how this Milanese antiphon made its way into the churches of Central Europe and why it is not encountered in Western Europe remains unanswered<sup>23</sup>. Perhaps the Cracovian or Prague cantors were not aware of its provenance, but its presence in the Hungarian, Czech, and Polish manuscripts shows that the Church of Milan sometimes managed to “pay back” the Roman rite for the Gregorianisation of its own liturgical chant.

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<sup>22</sup> According to T. BAILEY (op. cit., p. 534), this is the way in which some of the 27 antiphonae duplae known in Milan might have been created.

<sup>23</sup> Rather late (14 c.) custom of celebrating Ambrosian rite in St. Ambrose church in Prague (mentioned by Peter WAGNER *Einführung in die Gregorianische Melodien*. Leipzig, 1911, vol. I, p. 233) is an interesting trail but not an explanation.